The Late APOLOGY

In behalf of the

PAPISTS,

Reprinted and Answered

In behalf of the

ROYALLISTS.

LONDON:

Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the Gun in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard. MDCLXXIII.

TO THE AUTHOR OF THE Apology.

SIR,

ABout fourſcore Years ago, in a time when there were ſuch Apprehenſions of the Papiſts as now there are, (and howſoever they are now, ſurely then they were not without cauſe) ſome of your Predeceſſors, to palliate the matter, and to make their Governors more ſecure of them; writ a Book to this effect, that Catholicks are to imploy *no other Arms againſt their Prince but the Arms of Chriſtians*, viz. *Tears*, and Spiritual Means, daily *Prayers*, and Watchings and Faſtings. So you begin,

V. Cambdeni Annales. Anno 1586. concerning *Babington's* Conſpiracy.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, The Arms which Chriſtians can uſe againſt lawful Powers in their ſeverity are only Prayers and Tears.*]

We cannot ſay that you writ your Book for the ſame End as they did. But we do not like it, that you jump ſo together in the ſame Beginning.

[*Now ſince nothing can equal the infinity of thoſe we have ſhed, but the cauſe,* viz. *to ſee our deareſt Friends forſake us, we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wip'd our eyes) we ſigh out our Complaints to you.*]

Of the *Cauſe* of your Tears, we ſhall ſay more anon. Of the *Quantity* of them, you ſay very extravagantly, *Nothing can equal the infinity of thoſe we have ſhed.* For you might have excepted thoſe of the Proteſtants in Queen *Maries* dayes, or of them that ſuffered in the late Iriſh Rebellion. You ought to have excepted the Tears of your Fabulous Purgatory: and yet thoſe are ſaid to be ſhort of *Infinity*. But you Jeſuites love to be Hyperbolical, whether ranting or whining; as if that Religion which obliges you to damn all other Chriſtians, had likewiſe forbidden you to ſpeak like other Men.

[*We had ſpoke much ſooner, had we not been ſilent through Conſternation to ſee you inflamed, whom with reverence we honor) and alſo to ſhew our ſubmiſſive patience, which uſed no ſlights nor tricks to divert the Debates of Parliament: for no body can imagine where ſo many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concerned, but ſomething might have been done; when as in all Ages we ſee things of publick advantage by the managers dexterity nipt in the bud, even in the very Houſes them ſelves. Far be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Antient Laws: Nay* Magna Charta *it ſelf had its riſe from us, which we do the leſs boaſt of, ſince it was not at firſt obtained in ſo ſubmiſs and humble a manner.*

In the ſame Roman Style you commend your owne *ſilence* and *patience*. You *boaſt* that you *have been the Founders of the Parliaments Priviledges, and all Antient Laws.* Of the firſt, let every man believe as he ſees cauſe. But the ſecond we cannot allow, in either ſenſe, whether you mean it of your ſelves, or of your Predeceſſors.

For as now in your Church, men are of two ſorts, even ſo they were heretofore in this Realm. There were ſome that wholly minded the common intereſts of Chriſtian Religion and Civil Government. Others were *Papalini*, aſſerters and promoters of the Popes uſurpations. They which acted in thoſe firſt capacities were not more your Predeceſſors than Ours. They which acted in the other were truly and only Yours. You ſay,

[*We ſung our* Nunc Dimittis *when we ſaw our Maſter in his Throne, and you in your deſerved Authority and Rule.*]

'Tis

'Tis very well. And yet * some of you sung your *Vnite Exultemus* when you saw his Blessed Father upon the Scaffold. But what of that? since the Son is King, who is not glad † that he is King? or whom would it not *grieve to have his Loyalty called in Question?*

* Answer to *Philanax*, p. 85
† So *Argyle* said *Let them take all, since my Lord the King is come home in peace.*

[*Nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, but to have our Loyalty called into question by you even at the instigation of our greatest Adversaries.*

[*If we must suffer let it be by you alone; for that's a double Death to men of Honor, to have their Enemies not only accusers, but for their insulting Judges also.*]

Sir, he that is *Loyal*, and a *man of Honor*, has no cause to fear *Death*, *double* or single. For our Kings have alwayes Declared * that they put no man to death for Religion. Therefore if you Truly fear Death, it is for Treason. If you only pretend this, it is a Calumny. Either way you are no friend to the Government, for all your pretences to *Honor* and *Loyalty*.

* K. *James* Premonition, p. 336. of his Works.

[*These are they that by beginning with us, murthered their Prince, and wounded you: and shall the same method continue by your Approbation? We are sure you mean well; though their design be wicked: but never let it be recorded in Story, that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joyning with them that have been the cause of so great Calamity to the Nation.*]

How far it is true, that the *Kings Murtherers began with you*, we shall consider anon. But it seems you take the Liberty of bestowing that Character upon whom you please; that no man hereafter may dare move for the Execution of any Law against you, for fear of being said to *continue the Method* of the Kings Murtherers.

As for any *Vows* that we have made to you, whatsoever they are, you are more sure of them than we can be of any that you make to us; for we have no Pope to dispense with them. Neither is it *recorded in Story*, * that English Protestants ever *joyn'd with* the Enemies of their Nation.

* *V. I. C. K. Charles* his Testimony in his Letter to the Prince.

[*Of all Calumnies against Catholicks, we have admired at none so much as that their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion.*]

'Tis a Calumny of yours to call those things *Calumnies*,

nies which are true, and which you cannot Deny without ſuch a Preſumption as we ſhould much *admire* in you if it were not ſo very Ordinary. Concerning your *Principles*, where ſhould we look for them, but in your Councils, your Decretals, and the Books of your Divines? In each of theſe we are taught, that the Pope has a Power to depoſe Kings, and to diſcharge Subjects from their Allegiance: which Doctrines are utterly *inconſiſtent with Government*: for whoſoever believes them, no Prince can be ſecure of him. But whoſoever is a Papiſt, is bound to believe them. And he that has imbib'd this Faith, may well be *thought ever prone to Rebellion.*

Conc. Lateran. IV. c. 3. The Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Innocent* III. expreſly Ordains, that in caſe any Prince be a favourer of Hereticks, after admonition given, *The Pope ſhall diſcharge his Subjects from their Allegiance, and ſhall give away his Kingdom to ſome Catholick, that may root out thoſe Hereticks, and poſſeſs his Kingdom without contradiction.* 'Tis obſervable, that this Pope was himſelf a depoſer of Kings, namely of *John* King of *England*, and of *Otho* IV. the Emperor; and alſo that this Council which made Rebellion a Duty, was the firſt that made Tranſubſtantiation an Article of Faith.

Bellarm. in *Barclaium* c. 31. Next for the Bulls and Decrees of your Popes, which according to *Bellarmine* are ſufficient to *make that to be ſin which is not ſin, or not to be ſin which is ſin*: it would be tedious to inſtance in all that could be produc'd to this purpoſe.

† *Extrav. de Majoritate & Obed.* c. 1. *Unam ſanctam* From *Gregory* VII. downward. ſuch a Trade was driven of depoſing Kings, that no weak Prince could wear his Crown, but at the Pope's Courteſie. And that it might never be otherwiſe, Pope *Boniface* VIII. declares it for Law in theſe words: † *We ſay, and Define, and Pronounce, that it is abſolutely Neceſſary to ſalvation, for every humane Creature to be ſubject to the Biſhop of* Rome. Which Oracle is thus interpreted by *Bertrand*; Every humane * Creature, *(i.e.)* Every Magiſtrate, Muſt be ſubject, *&c. (i.e.)* Muſt ſubmit himſelf to be depoſed, when the Pope thinks fit. And that the Gloſs doth not injure the Text, it appears by the Tenor

* 1 Pet. 2. 13. πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει. Vulg. Lat. *Omni humanæ Creaturæ.*

Tenor of the Decree; eſpecially by thoſe words about the middle of it, that the *Spiritual Power is to order the Worldly Power, and to Judge, it if it be not as it ought*; *according to that in* Jeremy; *I have ſet thee over Nations and over Kingdoms, &c.* In which ſuppletive, *&c.* theſe words are wound up; *To root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* All which powers this Law-giver of yours endeavoured himſelf to exerciſe. *He endeavour'd*, ſaith *Platina*, *to give and take away Kingdoms, to expell men, and to reſtore them at his pleaſure.* Jer. 1. 10. *Plat. in Vit.* Bonf. VIII.

Agreeably to this doctrine and practice your great Canoniſt *Lancelottus* teaches you, *That the Pope may depoſe Kings and Emperors, and transfer their Kingdoms and Empires from one Line to another.* Which wholſome Doctrine, no doubt, as well as the reſt of his Book, Pope *Pius* IV. has made Authentick by his unerring Approbation. *Lanc. in Tem-ploomn. Judic.* l. 2. c. 1. Sect. 4 Ib. in *Præf.*

Laſtly for your Divines, They have generally own'd it; and many of them have written large Books in defence of it. We do not tell you this as news, for your Clergy-men know it already; but that your Laity may not be ignorant of it, we ſhall quote them ſome few of the greateſt Doctors of your Church in this Age. And we ſhall leave it upon you to ſhew them, when and where they were condemned, what Juſtice has been executed on the Perſons, what *Index Expurgatorius* has cenſur'd the Writings of theſe Authors. Nay, if you deal honeſtly, you cannot but confeſs, that their Works are generally approved, and that their Perſons are had in admiration among you that are the guides of the Lay-mens Conſciences.

We paſs over the groſs things of *Mariana*'s Book; becauſe, they which once licens'd it for love of the Doctrine; have ſince condemned it, for fear of their King's heavy Diſpleaſure.

But pray Sir, who condemned your Cardinals, *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*? who teach you, that the *Pope* may do with any *King*, as *Jehoiada* did with *Athalia*; that is, he may *deprive him firſt of his Kingdom, and then of his Life. Bellarmine* indeed elſewhere expreſſes it more like a Jeſuite, and a man *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. 5. c. 8. *Baron. Anno* 800. Sect. 10.

Bell. in Barclaium c. 3.

man of distinctions, in these words; *The Pope does not allow you not to obey your King*, but *he makes him that was your King to be not your King*; as who should say, when the Pope has done His part, then you are free to do Yours.

Suar. in Reg. M. B. l. 6. c. 4. Sect. 20.

Again, who condemn'd your great School-Men, *Suarez* and *Valentia*? of whom the one writes against his Majesties Grand-Father, that a *King*, Canonically Excommunicated, *may be deposed or killed by any man whatsoever*: the other says,

Greg. de Val. Tom. 3. in Thomam dis. 1. q. 12. p. 2.

that an Heretical Prince may, by the Pope's sentence, be *depriv'd of his life, much more of his Estate, and of all Superiority over others.*

Philopater. p. 149.

Nay, who has condemned our Country-man *Parsons*, or *Cressel*? (for the high-fliers of Popery have been those of our own Nation) by whom this is laid down as a *Conclusion of the whole School of Divines and Canonists*, and declar'd to be *Certain, and of Faith*; *that any Christian Prince whatsoever, that shall manifestly swerve from the Catholick Religion, and endeavour to draw off others, does immediately fall from all Power and Dignity*, &c. *and that, even before any Sentence of the Pope is pronounced against him*; *and that all his Subjects whatsoever are free from all obligation of any Oath of Obedience which they have made to him as their lawful Prince*; *and that they may and ought (if they be strong enough) to eject such a one from the Government of Christians, as an Apostate, an Heretick, a deserter of Christ, and an enemy of his Commonwealth*, &c.

Cardinal *Perron* went not altogether so high; but yet he held to the Roman Catholick Principle, that *Kings may be deposed by the Pope when he sees cause*. He seemed to be of another opinion while *Henry* IV. was alive: but when He was dead, and a Child was in the Throne, then he ventur'd to declare this publickly in his Oration * on behalf of the whole Clergy of *France*. † He maintained that this was the current Doctrine in *France* till the time of *Calvin*: and for the contrary Doctrine, *viz. That Kings are not deposable by the Pope*, *Rossæus* * calls it the *Paradox of the Lutherans*; *Perron* calls it a *Doctrine that breeds Schisms*: a *gate that leads into all Heresie*; and *to be held in so high a degree of detestation*, *that*

* *Jan.* 15. 1615

† Note that the Pope sent him thanks for it; & King *James* writ in answer to it, that solid *Defence of the Right of Kings*

* *Ross.* p. 85.

that rather then yield to it, he and his fellow-Bishops would chuse to burn at a Stake.

But how has this Doctrine taken among the *Papists* in our Kings Dominions? it has not taken with some of them: either becauſe you have not thought it ſeaſonable for you to inſtruct them in it (for Doctrines of this ſort are then only proper to be Inculcated, when they may do Execution) or elſe becauſe your Inſtruction has been over rul'd by ſome better Principle; as we doubt not there have always been ſome of your Church, in whoſe generous breaſts the *Engliſh* man has been too ſtrong for the *Papiſt*. But yet this Doctrine has taken with others; and many of them have practiſed according to it, as we ſhall ſhew you hereafter; and many more would have been practiſing, if there had not been ſomething to hinder them or deterr them. For 'tis allowed by your Divines, as a very good Reaſon, for Catholicks to omit the Duty of Rebellion, *if they are not ſtrong enough* to go through with it. So *Bannez* excuſes our *Engliſh* Catholicks, and ſo *Bellarmin* * does the Primitive Chriſtians: Nay your † Caſuiſts ſay, If there be any notable danger of Death or Ruin, without which you cannot perform it, that then you are not bound to endeavour it. Long may theſe Good Reaſons continue; for if theſe were remov'd, we know not how far we may truſt you. For one of your Brethren, another poiſoner of the people, has been ſo forward already, ſince His Majeſties Reſtauration, as to declare in Print, that in caſe your Pope ſhould take upon him to Deprive our King, he would not meddle between them. *I leave that Queſtion*, ſaith he, *to be decided by the two Supream Powers*, the Pope, and the King, *when occaſion ſhall be for it.*

* *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. 5. c. 7.

† *Watſons* Quodlibets, p. 255, and 295, &c. out of *Bannez, Valentia*, and *Parſons.*

The Exhortation in the afternoon, p. 22.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, had this been a new Sect not known before, ſomething perchance might have been doubted; but to lay this at their doors that have govern'd the civiliz'd world, is the miracle of miracles to us*]

Sir, we know not how to cure your wonder, but by ſhewing you, 'tis unreaſonable. For you call it a *Miracle*, that men judge according to good Evidence. Who *doubts* leſs

of the dangerousness of your *Principles* and Practices, than they that have Read most, and had most Experience of them? We can give you no greater instance, than in King *James* of blessed Memory, who was no stranger to you either way, and this is his judgment of you: *That as on the one part, many honest men seduced with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: So on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and School-conclusions of their Doctrines, can ever prove either good Christians or good Subjects.*

1. His Speech in Parliament. p. 504. of his Works.

But pray Sir, when was it that you *govern'd the civiliz'd World?* For the Eastern and Southern Churches never own'd your Government; nor yet the Western, while Learning flourished: But when Barbarity had over-run it, then Popery grew up by degrees, and made it more Barbarous both in Ignorance and in Cruelty. Then came in those Doctrines of Transubstantiation, *&c.* Then came in those Papal Usurpations, *&c.* which the *World*, being again *Civiliz'd*, hath partly thrown off, and partly reduced into more tolerable terms.

[*Did* Richard *the First*, or Edward *Long-shanks*, *suspect his Catholicks that served in* Palestine, *and make our Countryes Fame big in the Chronicle of all Ages? or did they mistrust (in their dangerous absence) their Subjects at home, because they were of the same profession? could* Edward *the Third imagine those to be traiterous in their Doctrine, that had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of Death in the highest Degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? be pleased that* Henry *the Fifth be remembred also, who did those Wonders, of which the whole World does yet resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas* Oldcastle *he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of* Rome *to be Head of the Church.*]

The Reigns of those Kings whom you speak of, were in those dark times; when all Goodness declin'd, and Corruptions were daily growing upon us. *Richard* the First, being told he had three wicked Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Leachery, said he could not Match them better than among your Templers, Fathers, and Friars. *Edward* the First out-law'd the whole Clergy of this Realm, for refusing

Daniel's Hist. *Ric.* I. *in fin.*

ſing to pay the King any Taxes, becauſe the Pope had forbidden them to do it. And both thoſe other Princes whom you mention, made Laws againſt his Uſurpations. *Edward* the Third made a notable one of this kind, by advice of that very Parliament, in which he enacted his *Laws againſt Treaſon*. And certainly, *Henry* the Second was more vex'd with *Becket*, than ever *Henry* V. feared *Oldcaſtle*. We doubt not, thoſe Kings had many good Subjects, and our King hath ſome better than you ſeem to be. But they differed not in Religion, as you do from ours: And yet then, your Faction was always encroaching where it was ſuffered, and dangerous where it was oppoſed.

Walſingham. Edw. I. 1298.

25. E. 3. *Vide* Statute of Proviſors.

Did not your Pope force King *John* to do him homage for *England*? Did he not wreſtle with *Edward* I.* for the Sovereignty of *Scotland*? Hath he not often laid claim to the Kingdom of *Ireland*? If the old Gentleman in a pet ſhould go to turn out his Tenant, what would our King have left, when theſe are diſpoſed of?

* *Mat. Weſtm.* 1301.

[*We will no longer trouble you with putting you in mind of any more of our mighty Kings who have been feared abroad, and as ſafe at home as any ſince the Reformation of Religion. We ſhall only add this, That if Popery be the enſlaving of Princes,* France *ſtill believes it ſelf as abſolute as* Denmark *or* Sweden.]

The *French* King will believe what he pleaſes, but not all that you ſay of him. For he cannot but know, that the Pope gave away that Kingdom from ſome of his Predeceſſors; and maintained War in it againſt his Grandfather, till he brought him to his terms. And why hath not His Holineſs dealt ſo with him that now is? partly for the ſake of his Religion; but chiefly for fear of a Storm, leſt his Coin ſhould do that which *Lewis* the Twelfth's only threatned in the Inſcription of it, *PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN.*

Thu. Hiſt. l. 1.

[*Nor will ever the Houſe of* Auſtria *abjure the Pope, to ſecure themſelves of the fidelity of their Subjects.*]

For the *Auſtrian* Princes that are ſo link'd to the *Pope*,

and whose *Subjects* are all Papists; you suggest a mad way to *secure* themselves by firing their Countrey about their ears.

The *Spaniard* holds the Kingdoms of *Navar* and of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, only by the Popes gift; by which he should have *Ireland* too, and *England*, but that the right Heir keeps them from him.

But what is this to *England*? where, *since the exclusion of* that trash, which you call *the Catholick Faith*, the King and the greatest part of his People are no Papists, and have had so much trouble and danger for it from them that are. May not Reason and Experience teach us to fear, that having to do with the same kind of Adversaries, we may still have some troublesome and dangerous Enemies?

No, we have none to fear but our selves, if we may believe you. For, say you,

[*We shall always acknowledge to the whole world, that there have been as many brave* English *in this last Century, as in any other place whatsoever: yet, since the exclusion of the Catholick Faith, there hath been that committed by those who would fain be called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist at no time dreamt of.*]

Pray Sir, what may *that* be? For you have murthered Kings, and them of your own Religion, four or five in this Realm since the Conquest (not to speak of those Numbers elsewhere.) But that was in the growing Age of Popery. In latter times, have you so soon forgot our Kings Grand-Father, *Henry* IV. murthered by *Ravilliac*? or his Predecessor *Henry* III. murthered by Fryar *Clement*? and the People you have kill'd up by whole Families and Townships? Witness *England*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Piedmont*, which you may hear of elsewhere. These things have been done by Papists broad awake; and what must *that* be *which the wickedst of them never dreamt of*?

[*'Twas never heard of before, that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and those styled her Peers; or that a King was publickly Tryed and Executed by his own People and Servants.*]

Walsingham, Hist. *Edw.* I. 1306.

First, you tell us of the Queen of *Scots* being put to Death in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. It was by the same colour of right, we suppose, that *Wallis* suffered in *Edward* the First's Reign, namely of that Sovereignty that our Princes challenged

lenged over *Scotland*. But *Edward* I. was ere while a laudable *Papist*; and Queen *Elizabeth*, for all this, might be a very good *Protestant*. Sure we are, that King *James* and King *Charles*, who were neareſt concerned in this matter, never imputed the Fault of it to her Religion.

Your other inſtance is, of that moſt execrable Murther, committed on the beſt of Kings, by his own Subjects, and by ſuch as you ſay, *would fain be called Proteſtants*. Sir, we *would fain be called* Chriſtians, and Members of the Catholick Church: would you take it well of a Turk, that ſhould therefore charge our faults upon you? but you do worſe than a Turk, in charging theſe mens faults upon us. They were neither then nor ſince of our Communion; but that bleſſed Prince was, whom they murther'd. He declared upon the Scaffold, *I dye a Chriſtian, according to the profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father.* He charged the Princeſs *Elizabeth, not to grieve, and torment her ſelf for him; for that would be a glorious Death which he ſhould dye, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion.* He died with ſome Care not to leave you this advantage by his Death; as it appears by theſe words of his laſt Letter to His Majeſty that now is. *The ſcandal of the late Troubles which ſome may object and urge you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in* England, *is eaſily anſwered to them or your own thoughts in this, that ſcarce any one who hath been a beginner or an active proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was or is a true lover, embracer, or practicer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in* England; *which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.* Letter to the Prince.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, we know who were the Authors of this laſt abomination, & how generouſly you ſtrove againſt the raging Torrent; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to ſhew that all Religions may have a corrupted ſpawn; and that God hath been pleaſed to permit ſuch a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never ſaw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may he proſper) that popery is not the only ſource of treaſon.*]

But do you indeed *know, who were the Authors of this laſt abo-*

abomination? Pray Sir be plain with us, for in these doubtful words, there seems to be more truth than every man is aware of. The Rebellion that led to it, began we know in *Scotland*, where the design of it was first laid by † Cardinal *Richelieu His Majesties* * *irreconcileable Enemy*. Then it broke out in *Ireland*, where it was blest with His Holiness's Letters, and assisted by his Nuntio, whom he sent purposely to attend the Fire there. Lastly here in *England*, you did your parts to unsettle the People and gave them needless occasions of jealousie, which the vigilant Phanaticks made use of, to bring us all into War and Confusion.

† *V L'Estrange* 1639. in *Habernfields* Relation.

* Answer to the Reasons for no Address.

Both in *England* and *Scotland*, the special Tools that they wrought with, were borrowed out of your Shops.

It was His Majesties own Observat on (by which you may gues whose *spawn* they were) *Their Maxims*, saith he, *were the same with the Jesuites; their Preachers Sermons were delivered in the very phrase of* Becanus, Scioppius, *and* Eudæmon Johannes; *their poor Arguments, which they delivered in their seditious Pamphlets printed or written, were taken almost verbatim out of* Bellarmin *and* Suarez.

Large Declaration concerning the tumults in *Scotland*, p. 3.

In *Ireland*, where you durst do it, you imploy'd Iron and Steel against him; with which you might as well have preserved him, if you had pleased; but you *denyed* to do that, (as he tells us) * *only upon account of Religion.* Then followed the accursed Fact it self, agreed to in the Councils of your † Clergy, contriv'd and executed by the Phanaticks. In vain did the poor Royalist *strive against it*, for what could he do? when two such streams met against him; of which the deepest was that which came from *Rome*, where the false Fisherman open'd all his Flood-gates, to overwhelm us with those troubles, which, for the advantage of his trade, he had often before endeavoured, but could never prevail till now to send them pouring in upon us.

* Answer to the Reasons for the Votes of no Address

† Answer to *Philanax*, p. 59.

[*Little did we think, (when your Prayers and ours were offer'd up to beg a blessing on the Kings Affairs) ever to see that day, in which* Carlos Gifford, Whitgrave, *&* the Pendrels, *should be punish'd by your desires for that Religion which obliged them to save their forlorn Prince; & a stigmatized man (for his Offences against King & Church) a chief promoter of it.*

Nay

Nay less, did we imagine, that by your Votes Huddleston *might be hang'd, who again ſecured our Sovereign; and others free in their faſt Poſſeſſions that ſate as Judges, and ſealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory.*]

That many Gentlemen of your Church were not of your Party, we do willingly acknowledge; and that ſome of them in that critical day of Danger, did the King very eminent Service. But ſo did Proteſtants too; therefore you cannot aſcribe this to Your *Religion*. Nor does it ſeem reaſonable, that to requite particular perſons for their ſervice, we ſhould abandon thoſe Laws which may ſecure the publick againſt as great a danger.

To queſtion his Life that had freely expoſed it for our Sovereigns, were too great a Barbarity for any Chriſtians but of your Sect, or any Age but Queen *Maries* dayes; for then Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was indeed ſo dealt with; but we do not more deteſt thoſe times than ſuch examples. And we know that His Majeſty, without any treſpaſs on his Laws, may protect and reward thoſe perſons whom he judgeth deſerving it, as well as his Royal Predeceſſors did, in whoſe Reigns the penal Laws were made.

Dolemans Conference of Succeſſion, part 2. p. 237.

Pray be you as favourable to the *ſtigmatized Man*, (whom ſure you are not angry with *for his Offences againſt King and Church*, whatſoever you ſay;) and if he be now a *promoter* of any thing that diſpleaſeth you, bear with him, as His Majeſty doth; for whom he lately did his utmoſt againſt Phanaticks toward the bringing of him in: and he would not willingly live to ſee the Pope turn him out again.

For the Regicides, be as ſevere with them as you pleaſe; only beware how you tax His Majeſty's Mercy, for fear you may have need of it.

[*We confeſs we are unfortunate, and you juſt Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintain to be ſo; nor are we ignorant the neceſſity of Affairs made both the King and you do things, which formerly you could not ſo much as fancy. Yet give us leave to ſay, we are ſtill loyal; nay, to deſire you to believe ſo, and to remember how Synonymous under the late Rebellion) was the word Papiſt and Cavalier; for there was never no Papiſt that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not called a Papiſt, or at leaſt judged to be popiſhly affected.*]

Your

Your fawning upon the Parliament, and commending of your ſelves, we paſs over as things of courſe. And we equally believe you now, as you did the Phanaticks heretofore, when they called us *Papiſts*; or as we did you e'rewhile, when you called them *Proteſtants*. For pray Sir, what did they to be called *Proteſtants?* or what did *we* to be *judged Popiſhly Affected?* And if all *Papiſts*, as you ſay, were *deemed Cavaliers*; we hope ſome of them have had the grace to be aſhamed of it. In *Ireland* there were whole Armies of *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*, that fought againſt His Majeſty, ſolely upon the account of your Religion. In *England* it is true, ſome came in voluntarily to aſſiſt him; but many more of you were * *hunted into his Garriſons*, by them that knew you would bring him little help and much hatred. And of thoſe that fought for him, as long as his Fortune ſtood; when that once declined, a great part, even of them, fell from him. From that time forward, you that were, *always, all, deemed Cavaliers*, where were you? In all thoſe weak Efforts * of gaſping Loyalty, what did you? You complied, and flattered, and gave ſugar'd words to the Rebels then, as you do to the Royaliſts now. You addreſt your Petitions † *to the Supream Authority of this Nation, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England You affirmed * that *you had generally taken, and punctually kept the Ingagement.* You promiſed, that if you might but enjoy your Religion † you *would be the moſt quiet and uſeful Subjects in* England. You prov'd it in theſe words. * *The Papiſts of* England *would be bound by their own Intereſt (the ſtrongeſt obligation amongſt wiſe men) to live peaceably and thankfully in the private exerciſe of their Conſciences; and becoming gainers by ſuch compaſſions, they could not ſo reaſonably be diſtuſted, as the Prelatick* Party that were loſers. You prov'd it more amply by real Teſtimonies; which we have no pleaſure in remembring, and you would have leſs in hearing of them. Theſe things were too lately done to be talk't of.

* Second Moderator, p. 43.

* 1647, 1656, 1659.

† First Moderator, p. 59.

* Second Moderator, p. 41.

V. Anſwer to *Philanax*, p. 63. of Father *Bret*..

† First Moderator, p. 31.

* First Moderator. p. 36.

If after all this ſaid and done for your own Vindication, you were ſtill *deemed Cavaliers*, the more was your wrong. But who could help it? all the right we can do you, is, Not to believe it.

We

[*We know though we differ ſomething in Religion (the truth of which let the laſt day judge) yet none can agree with your Inclinations, or are fitter for your Converſe than we; for as we have as much Birth among us as* England *can boaſt of, ſo our Breeding leans your way both in Court and Camp: and therefore, had not our late ſufferings united us in that ſum tye, yet our like humors muſt needs have joyned our hearts.*

If we ever, pitty our condition, and remember what your great Anceſtors were, and make ſome difference between us (that have twice converted England *from Paganiſm) and thoſe other Sects that can challenge nothing but intruſion for their impoſed Authority.*]

As for *Religion*, we *agree* with you in all that is truly Catholick: We *differ* from you only in not admitting your Innovations. And whether juſtly, we ſay alſo, *let the laſt day judge*. Your *Converſe*, *Breeding*, &c. we heartily reſpect as far as 'tis Engliſh. But we ſuſpect every thing that *Leans* toward a Forreign Juriſdiction. And we would be loth, by our kindneſs to thoſe things wherein we agree with you, to be drawn into the danger of thoſe things in which we differ from you.

By that flam of your having *twice converted* England *from Paganiſm*, ſure you mean that we in this Land have been twice converted by perſons ſent to us from *Rome*. Which you will never perſwade any one to believe, that dares truſt himſelf to taſte of Church-Hiſtory without one of your Fathers chewing it for him. But, ſuppoſing this to be true, pray what would you infer from it? that becauſe we received good from the Primitive Chriſtians of that place, therefore we ſhould lay our ſelves open to receive any evil that may happen to us from their degenerous Succeſſors.

[*But 'tis generally ſaid, that Papiſts cannot live without perſecuting all other Religions within their reach.*

We confeſs, where the name of Proteſtant is unknown, the Catholick Magiſtrates (believeing it erroneous) do uſe all care to keep it out: Yet in thoſe Countries where liberty is given, they have far more priviledges than we, under any reformed Government whatſoever. To be ſhort, we will only inſtance France *for all, wher they have publick Churches, wher they can make what Proſelytes they pleaſe, and where it's not againſt Law to be in any charge or employment. Now* Holland (*which permits every thing*) *gives us, 'tis true, our Lives and Eſtates, but takes away all truſt in Rule, and leaves us alſo in danger of the Scout, whenſoever he pleaſeth to diſturb our Meetings.*]

What *is generally ſaid* of the Popiſh Perſecutions, is alſo generally believed. But Sir, you anſwer it deceitfully. For you tell us of the manner; firſt, of thoſe Countries *where the Name of Proteſtant is unknown*: and next, of thoſe Countries *where liberty is given*: but you ſlip over a third ſort, namely, of thoſe where the *Name of Proteſtant* is well known, and yet no *Liberty is given*. Pray what *Liberty* have the Proteſtants in *Flanders*? we are told they have none: and yet the *Name* of them is very well known there. The like may be ſaid of divers other Coun ries: Nay in *England*, while it was Yours, did you give any *Liberty* at all? yet the *Name of Proteſtant* was very well known here, and was ſufficient for the burning of any one that was known by it. But you ſay, you *will only inſtance France for all*. Very wiſely reſolved: for it would not have been for your credit to *inſtance* any other. In *France* then, whatſoever *Liberty* the Proteſtants enjoy, it is by vertue of their Edicts: which how they were obtained, we ſhall have occaſion to mind * you, and how they are obſerved, let the poor *Hugonots* tell you. But if they were obſerved to the full; ſhould we therefore grant You that Liberty which is *againſt Law*? becauſe they are allow'd that which you ſay is *not againſt Law*.

* K. *James* Defence of the Right of Kings p. 479, 480.

In *Holland*, the Papiſts may have ſome reaſon to complain, if their Maſters allow them no more *Liberty* than you ſpeak of. For, it was chiefly by their hands, that the *Spaniſh* yoak was thrown off: which, on the contrary, our Papiſts were ſo fond of, that for divers years together, we had much ado to keep them from pulling it on upon our necks.

[*Becauſe we have named* France, *the Maſſacre will perchance be urged againſt us: but the world muſt know, that was a Cabinet-Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers there, and of other Countries alſo: beſides, it cannot be thought they were murthered for being Proteſtants, ſince 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them into that ill machinated Deſtruction.*]

The French *Maſſacre*, which you next ſpeak of, was a thing *of ſo horrid a Cruelty, that*, as *Thuanus* * tells us, *Can-*

* *Thu. Hiſt.* l. 53.

Considering-men, having turn'd over the Annals of the Nations, could find no example of the like in all Antiquity. * It was cloak'd over with shews of the greatest Amity in the world; namely of a Marriage between the Houses of *Valois* and *Bourbon*; to which all the chief of the Protestants were most lovingly invited. There, after the Jollity of Mirth, and caresses of Entertainment, in the dead-time of the night, the whole City was in Arms about them; they fell upon all the Protestants Houses and Lodgings; they butchered them without distinction, Men, Women and Children, till the Channels ran down with Blood into the River: And scarce a Protestant was left alive, except the * *Bridegroom* and the Prince of *Conde*; who turned Papists to escape their hands, and yet they could not escape them; the one being poisoned, and the other stabb'd by men of your Religion. This hellish Stratagem, you say, was *condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers.* It was likewise extoll'd as glorious *by Catholick Writers.* But pray Sir, what think you of it? you are bashful in company, but one may guess at your meaning. First, you say it was a *Cabinet-Plot*: a fine soft word, for the butchering * of 30000 persons. Next, in answer to them that call it *murther*, you seem to blame it as a thing done to Halves; for what else can you mean, by calling it an *ill-machinated Destruction*? Lastly, whatsoever it was, that which *drew* it upon them, you say, was *their Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would.)* Nay Sir, it was their Faith (let their Obedience have been what it would.) For neither had that King better Subjects than those which were Massacred; nor had his Successor erranter Rebels than those that did Massacre them. Brave *Coligni* was the first murthered; and his Head was sent to *Rome*, while his Body (according to his own ominous * wish) was mangled and dragged about the Streets of *Paris.* The Duke of *Guise* was chief of the murtherers; whose *factious Authority*, as you sweetly style it, was as black a Rebellion as ever that Kingdom saw. But to end this Question, whether these men were massacred for *Protestant Religion*, or for *Rebellion*; let us take judges between us: for possibly, We

* *Thu. Hist.* l. 52.

* *Guignard*, in his Oration said, *It was a great error that they had not cut the Basilick vein.*

* *Id.* l. 53.

* *Thu. Hist.* l. 52. saith, that being forewarn'd of the Plot, & advised to stand upon his Guard; *He wisht rather to have his Body drag'd, &c. than to see any more Civil Wars in France.*

may be partial for the one, and You for the other.

First, of *Rebellion*, a King ſhould be the moſt competent Judge: hear therefore what King *James* ſaith, who lived in the freſh memory of thoſe dayes. *I could never yet learn* (ſaith he) *by any good and true Intelligence, that in* France, *thoſe of the Religion took Arms againſt their King. In the firſt Civil Wars they ſtood only upon their Guard, they ſtood only to their lawful Wards, and Locks of Defence. They armed not, nor took the Field, before they were purſued with Fire & Sword, burnt up and ſlaughtered. Beſides, Religion was neither the root nor the rinde of thoſe inteſtine Troubles. The true ground of the Quarrel was this; during the Minority of King* Francis II. *the Proteſtants of* France *were a refuge and ſuccor to the Princes of the Blood, when they were kept from the King's Preſence, and by the Power of their Enemies were no better than plainly driven and chaſed from the Court. I mean the Grandfathers of the King now Reigning, and of the Prince of* Conde, *when they had no place of ſafe Retreat. In regard of which worthy and honorable Service, it may ſeem the* French *King hath reaſon to have the Proteſtants in his gracious remembrance. With other Commotion or Inſurrection the Proteſtants are not juſtly to be charged. Certain it is, that King* Henry III, &c. *by their good Service was delivered from a moſt extream & eminent peril of his Life*, &c. *they never abandoned that* Henry III. *nor* IV. *in all the heat of Revolts and Rebellions raiſed by the Pope, and the more part of the Clergy*, &c.

Defence of the right of Kings, in his Works, p. 479, 480.

Then of *Religion*, ſince you will allow none but the Pope to be Judge, let us hear his Judgment from *Thuanus*, who was a Roman Catholick, and a moſt authentick Hiſtorian. He tells us, the Pope had an account of the Maſſacre from his Legate at *Paris*, that he read his Letter in the Conſiſtory of Cardinals, that there it was decreed that they ſhould go directly to St. *Marks*, and there ſolemnly give *thanks to Almighty God for ſo great a bleſſing conferred upon the Roman See, and the Chriſtian World.* That ſoon after a Jubilee ſhould be publiſht through the whole Chriſtian World, and theſe cauſes were expreſt for it, To give *thanks to God for deſtroying in* France *the Enemies of the Truth, and of the Church,*

Thu. Hiſt. l. 53.

Church, &c. In the Evening, the Guns were fired at St. *Angelo*, and Bonefires were made, and nothing was omitted of all thoſe things that uſe to be performed in the *greateſt Victories of the Church.* Some dayes after, there was a Proceſſion to St. *Lewis*, with the greateſt reſort of Nobility and People. Firſt went the Biſhops and Cardinals, then the Switzers, then the Ambaſſadors of Kings and Princes: then under a Canopy, went His Holineſs Himſelf, with the Emperor's Ambaſſador bearing up his Train for him, *&c.* Over the Church-Door was an Inſcription ſet up, in which the Cardinal of *Lorain*, in the name of the King of *France*, congratulated his *Holineſs*, and the Colledge of Cardinals, *&c.* for the *plainly ſtupendious effects, and altogether incredible events, of their Councils given him, and of their Aſſiſtances ſent him, and of their twelve Years Wiſhes and Prayers.* Soon after, the Pope ſent Cardinal *Urſin* in his name, to congratulate the King of *France*, who in his Journey through the Cities, highly commended the Faith of thoſe Citizens that had to do in the Maſſacre; and diſtributed his Holineſs's bleſſings amongſt them. And at *Paris*, being to perſwade the reception of the Council of *Trent*, he endeavoured it with this Argument, That the memory of *the late Action, to be magnified in all ages, as conducing to the Glory of God, and the Dignity of the Holy Roman Church*, might be as it were ſealed by the Approbation of the Holy Synod: for that ſo it would be manifeſt to all men that now are, or hereafter ſhall be, that the King conſented to the deſtruction of ſo many lives, *not out of hatred or revenge, or ſenſe of any injury of his own, but out of an ardent deſire to propagate the Glory of God.* That, what could not be expected whilſt the Faction of Proteſtants ſtood, now ſince they were taken away, the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion which by the Synod of *Trent* is cleared from the venom of the Sectaries, might be eſtabliſhed without Controverſie, and without Exception, *through all the Provinces of the* French *Dominion.*

Well ſpoken, worthy Head of the Church! we will take thy Judgment about cutting of throats at any time;

time; thou doſt not mince the matter, as this Engliſh limb of thee doth: who yet is thus far to be commended; that ſince he durſt not ſay of it as he deſir'd, for fear of provoking us, yet he would not call it as it deſerved, for fear of too much contradicting thee.

[*May it not be as well ſaid in the next Catholick Kings Reign, that the Duke of* Guiſe *and Cardinal, Heads of the League, were killed for their Religion alſo? Now no body is ignorant, but 'twas their Factious Authority which made that jealous Prince deſign their Deaths, though by unwarrantable means.*]

The Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brother, *were* not *killed for their Religion*; for they were killed by * one of the ſame Religion, and one that was bent againſt the Proteſtants as much as they. Only becauſe he ſpared the blood of the Proteſtants your Zealots hated him; and ſo much the more, becauſe a Proteſtant * being his Heir, he would not declare him uncapable of the Succeſſion. For theſe cauſes, by the Popes conſent, theſe *Guiſes* (whom he called the *Maccabes* † *of the Church*) entred into an *Holy League* againſt their King; and called in the Succors of *Spain* and *Savoy*, which they paid for with the Rights of the Crown; they maintained a ſharp War againſt him, and did all that was in their power to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life. Whereupon that *jealous Prince* (as you favourably * call him) for his own preſervation, was urged to deal with them, as they had dealt with the Proteſtants; from whoſe caſe, this of the *Guiſes* is ſo vaſtly different, that one would wonder why you ſhould mention it.

* *Henry* III. of *France.*

* *Henry* IV.

† *Thu. Hiſt.* l. 91.

* *Roſſæus*, one of your Predeceſſors, calls him *a thouſand times worſe than Mahomet*, p. 170. & ſaith, *From the beginning of the world, no Nation or State ever endured ſuch a Tyrant*, p. 171.

* *Sixtus V.* quoted his own Prediction in his Oration that follows.

But ſince you have led us thus far out of the way, let us invite you a little farther. The Pope Excommunicated the King for this Action, and granted 9 Years of true Indulgence to any of his Subjects that would bear Arms againſt him; and foretold, * (as a Pope might do without Aſtrology) that *e're long he ſhould come to a fearful Death.* The Subjects took Arms, and earned the Indulgence. A Friar took his Knife, and fulfilled the Prediction; by ripping up thoſe Bowels that were always moſt tenderly affected with kindneſs to the Monkiſh Orders. But what joy was there

a

at *Rome* for this! as if the news of another Maſſacre had come to Town, one would think ſo, by the Popes Oration * to his Cardinals: in which he ſets forth this *work of God* (the Kings Murther) for its wonderfulneſs to be compared with *Chriſts Incarnation* and *Reſurrection*. And the *Friars* Vertue, and Courage, and fervent Love of God, he preſers before that of *Eleazar* in the *Maccabees*, or of *Judith* killing *Holofernes*: and the murthered King (who had profeſt himſelf to dye in the *Faith of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Church*) he declared to have died in the *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*. Pray Sir, may it not well be ſaid, that *Papiſts cannot live without perſecuting Proteſtants?* when we ſee a Popiſh King ſtabb'd and damned for not perſecuting them enough, or for doing the work of the Lord negligently.

* Printed at *Paris*, 1589, by the Printers of the *Holy League*, and approved by the *Sorbon.*

[*If it were for Doctrine that* Hugonots *ſuffered in* France, *this Haughty Monarch would ſoon deſtroy them now, having neither Force nor Town to reſiſt his Might and Puiſſance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament, and may convert the Kings Brother too; if he think fit to be ſo. Thus you ſee how well Proteſtants may live in a Popiſh Country, under a Popiſh King: nor was* Charlemain *more Catholick than this; for though he contends ſomething with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about Gallicane Priviledges, which perchance he may very lawfully do.*]

[*Judge then worthy Patriots, who are the beſt uſed, and conſider our hardſhip here in* England, *where it is not only a Fine for hearing Maſs, but death to the Maſter for having a Prieſt in his Houſe; and ſo far we are from preferment, That by Law we cannot come within* 10 *miles of* London; *all which we know your great mercy will never permit you to exact.*]

You ſay, if this were true, then *this Haughty Monarch would ſoon deſtroy his* Hugonots *now*. No ſuch conſequence, Sir, for he may perſecute them, and not *deſtroy* them; he may deſtroy them, but not ſo *ſoon*. Princes * uſe to go their own pace, whilſt they are upon their legs; but if any misfortune throws them upon all four, then the *Pope* gets up and rides them what pace he pleaſeth. Nor is this Monarch yet ſo *Catholick* as *Charlemain* was; if he were, he would do as *Charlemain* did. He would be *Patron* of all the Biſhopricks in his Empire, even of *Rome* it ſelf, if it were there. He would make the *Pope* himſelf know the diſtance

* K. *James* works, p. 483.

Canon *Agatho* Diſt. 63.

Fauchet. Anno 801. c. 10. that the Pope ador'd him, not he the Pope.

distance between a Prelate and an Emperor. He would maintain the Rights of his Crown; and not chop Logick about *Gallicane Priviledges*, which you say, like a sly Jesuite, that *perchance he may lawfully do*. He would call a Council when he pleased, to separate Errors from the *Faith*; as *Charlemain* himself called a Council * against Image-Worship, which was then creeping into the Church. This were a good way of *destroying* the *Hugonots*, by taking away all causes of strife amongst Christians. By any other way than this he cannot destroy them, without the violation of his Laws: which, as they are the only *Forces and Towers*, whereby Subjects ought to be secured against their King; so, since he is pleased to allow them no other, these Laws, backt with his puissance, are forces enough to secure them against their fellow-Subjects.

* Council of *Frankford*, *An.* 794.

We cannot pass this Paragraph, without observing your Jesuitical ingenuity; how you slight those favours that you have; how you complain of those *hardships* that you have not; and how you insult over the poor *Hugonots*, by comparing with them, who generally would mend their condition by changing with you. Pray Sir, do not Popish-Peers sit in our English *Parliaments*, as well as Protestants in the French? or have you not as free access to our *King's* Brother, as they have to theirs? or would you have his Highness to Catechise, as the Abbot had the Duke of *Gloucester*? perhaps that you would have. Otherwise we know nothing but His Highness's Wisdom, and care of his Conscience, that guards him from you.

Of the Laws you complain hideously, *Worthy Patriots consider our hardship*. And yet, those very *Laws* you complain of, you never knew executed in your life; and you tell us soon after, that you *know* they never will be.

For what cause then were they enacted? Plainly for this cause, to guard the lives of our Princes against your traiterous practices.

[*It hath often been urged, that our Misdemeanors in Queen* Elizabeth's *days, and King* James's *time, was the cause of our Punishment.*]

Your

Your *Miſdemeanors*! We cry you mercy, if they were no more; but that comes next to be argued, Whether they were *Miſdemeanors* or Treaſons?

[*We earneſtly wiſh that the Party had more patience under that Princeſs. But pray conſider (though we excuſe not their faults) whether it was not a queſtion harder than that of* York *and* Lancaſter, *the cauſe of a War of ſuch length, and death of ſo many Princes, who had moſt right,* Q. Elizabeth *or* Mary Stuart: *for ſince the whole Kingdom had crowned and ſworn Allegiance to* Q. Mary, *they had owned her Legitimate Daughter to* Henry *the Eighth; and therefore it was thought neceſſarily to follow by many, That if* Mary *was the true Child,* Elizabeth *was the Natural, which muſt then needs give way to the thrice Noble* Queen *of Scots.*]

Under Queen *Elizabeth*, you wiſh your Party had *more patience*; and we think they Needed none; for in the firſt ten Years of her Reign they had no Buſineſs for it. In all that ſpace of time, which was twice as long as Queen *Maries* Reign, though it was freſh in memory what the Papiſts had done, yet not one of them ſuffered Death: till the Northern Rebellion: which being raiſed againſt her, only upon the account of her Religion; it appears that She was the perſecuted perſon: She had the occaſion for *Patience*; and you would have wiſhed Them more Loyalty, if any ſuch thing had been in your thoughts. But perhaps you wiſh they had ſo much *patience*, as not to have diſcovered their deſign before it was fully ripe for execution. Not unlike. For it appears, you account Rebellion no fault; by this, that you ſay, you *excuſe not their faults*, and yet you do excuſe their Rebellion. *Philopater.* p. 103.

You excuſe them, by ſaying, it was a very *hard Queſtion*, whether the *Right* of the Crown lay in her, or in the *Queen of Scots*; for that many thought *Queen Elizabeth* Illegitimate. Pray Sir, who *Thought* it? or when aroſe that *Queſtion?* The Arch-Biſhop of *York* though a Papiſt, in his Speech at the publiſhing of Queen *Maries* Death, ſaid, *No man could doubt of the juſtneſs of the Lady* Elizabeths *Title to the Succeſſion.* The whole Kingdom received her, and owned her as Queen, more generally and freely than eyer they did Queen *Mary*. The *Roſſ.* p. 223. faith of them that were pretended to die for *your* Religion, *Where was it ever heard that they denied her to have been the lawful Queen.*

Neighbour Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and the Emperor offered * Marriage to her, in hopes to have got the Crown by her. The Queen of *Scots* her self did acknowledge her, and claimed nothing more than to be Heir to her, and so did King *James* that was her Succeſſor. So that whoſoever oppoſed Queen *Elizabeths* Right, if they were *Engliſh*, 'tis apparent they were Rebels; and if they were Papiſts, we may gueſs what led them to it For the firſt that *Queſtioned* her Title, was Pope * *Paul* IV. who would not acknowledge her for ſundry cauſes; the chief that he alledged, were theſe: Firſt, Becauſe *this Kingdom is a Fee of the Papacy, and it was audaciouſly done of her to aſſume it without his leave.* The ſecond was, becau e *ſhe was Illegitimate*: for if her Fathers Marriage were good, the Pope muſt let down his Mill. But after all this, his Succeſſor *Pius* IV * did own her, and would have done any thing for her, ſo ſhe would have owned him. Which becauſe ſhe would not, the next *Pope Pius* V. iſſued out his Bull * againſt her, and depoſed her; not for Baſtardy † but for Hereſie; that is, for being a Proteſtant; for which Hereſie it was, that the Northern men Rebelled againſt her, and many more of her Subjects diſowned her: and ſome or other were every foot plotting how to take away her life.

* *Philip* II. and *Henry* III. for themſelves, & the Emperor *Maximilian* for his Brother *Charles.*

* Council of *Trent.* l. 5. *An:* 1558.

* In his Letter by *Parpaglia*, dated 1560. *May* 5.

* Dated 1570. *Feb.* 25.

† See the Bull it ſelf, there is not the leaſt mention of Baſtardy in it.

True it is, that ſome of theſe pretended to do it in favour of the *Queen of Scots.* But how if that Queen had not been a Catholick? or Queen *Elizabeth* had not Been thought *Illegitimate*? would a legitimate Proteſtant have been ſo contended for? or would a Popiſh Baſtard have been rejected by them?

Pope *Gregory* XIII. had occaſion to conſider this. For his Holineſs had a Baſtard * of his own to provide for, and another † of the Emperors; no doubt good Catholicks both of them. To one he gave the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and ſet out *Stukely* * with Forces to win it for him. To the other he gave the Kingdom of *England*, and gave him leave to win it for himſelf. But what was all this to the *thrice Noble Queen of Scots?* Poſſibly ſhe might have been preferred to have married one of the two? but then it muſt have

* *James Buoncompagno.*

† *Don John.*

* Whom his Holineſs had created Marqueſs of *Lemſter*, Earl of *Wexford*, &c. *Thu.* Hiſt. l. 64.

have been expreſly with this condition, That her Son *King James* (who was a Heretick) *ſhould have nothing to do with the Succeſſion.*

When their bubbles were broken, and ſhe was dead, all her *Right* deſcended to King *James*, who being as little to the Pope's mind, as Q. *Elizabeth* was, *Sixtus* V. only took no publick notice of Him, but he proceeded with all his might againſt Her. He curſt her afreſh, and publiſht a Croyſade againſt her, and gave the whole *Right* of Her Kingdoms to *Philip* the II. King of *Spain*. But neither that Popes Bounty, nor his three Succeſſors Bleſſings, nor the *Spaniſh* Arms, nor the *Italian* Arts (for no way was left untried) could ever prevail againſt Gods Providence; which, till the end of her days, kept that Queen always faſt in her Poſſeſſions.

At laſt, Pope *Clement* VIII. ſeeing there was nothing to be done againſt her, reſolv'd to let her go like a Heretick as ſhe was; and to take the more care that another Heretick ſhould not ſucceed her. For which cauſe he ſent over two Breves into *England*, one to the Clergy, and the other to the Laity, commanding them not to admit any other but a Catholick, though never ſo *near in Blood*, to the Succeſſion: *Cambden, Eliz.* 1600. that is to ſay, in plain words, not to admit King *James* to Reign after Queen *Elizabeths* death. So 'tis clear, that your Popes never ſtuck at that *hard Queſtion* that you ſpeak of.

Let us ſee what our Country-men did, who, as you ſay, *ſuffered for it in thoſe days*. They did like obſequious Members, at every turn, as their Head directed them. They acted for the Papal Intereſt as far as they were able. They made the *Houſe of Scotland* the Cloak for it, as far as it would reach. And it reacht pretty well, as long as the Title was in Queen *Mary*. But after the Title came to be in King *James*, Pray Sir, name us thoſe Papiſts, or but one ſingle perſon of them, that either died or ſuffered for Him: and then you bleſs us with a diſcovery.

What then? were they idle for ſo many years as paſt between the commencing of his Title, and the Death of

Queen *Elizabeth*? Nothing less. For they were as busie as Bees, in contriving how to hasten her Death, and how to put him by the Succession. And if it were for his Service, that they would have destroyed Her; pray for whose service was it, that they would have defeated Him? but that will be known by the story.

Soon after his Mothers Death was the *Spanish* Invasion; which would have defeated him with a Witness, if it had sped; and yet our Papists, both Negotiated * it, and writ in Defence † of it. Afterwards in *Scotland* your Jesuites procured the Earl of *Huntley* * and others to raise a powerful Rebellion against him. In *England*, they endeavoured to perswade the Earl of *Derby* † to set up a Title to the Crown; who honestly revealing it, was poisoned soon after, according to the prophetical threatning of *Hesket* whom they had made use of to perswade him.

When these single shots failed, Father *Parsons* * gave a broad-side to the *Royal House of Scotland*. For he publisht a Book under the name of *Dolman*, wherein he set up divers Competitours for the Succession, and consequently so many Enemies to the unquestionable Right of that Family. And to provide one sure Enemy upon the place, he found out a Title for the Earl of *Essex*, the most ambitious and popular Man in the Nation, to whom also he craftily dedicated his Book. In which he mentions, † among other Books of this nature, one written by *Lesley* concerning the Queen of *Scots* Title; another by *Heghinton* for the King of *Spains* Title; and another concerning the Prince of *Parma's*; But for his part, before these and all others, he prefers the Title of the *Infanta*. And, to shew that he meant as he said, * he caused their Scholars in the Seminaries abroad to subscribe to it, and made them swear to maintain it, and bound the Missionaries to promote it in those places whither they were to be sent. Whereas for King *James* his Title, he preferrs several others before it, and tells us, † *I have not found very many in* England *that favour it*: meaning sure of your Catholicks, with whom his converse chiefly was; and concerning whom he gives this remarkable testimony, that

* *Cambden Eliz.* 1588.
† Cardinal *Allen's* Admonition.
V. Watson's Quodl. p. 240. and 247.
* *Cambden Eliz. An.* 1589. *Watso.* Quodl. p. 150.
† *Cambden* Ib. *Anno* 1593. *Watson* Ib. p. 154.
* *Cambden* Ib. *Anno* 1594. *Dolmans* Conference about the next succession to the Crown.
† *Dolman.* part. 2. p. 9.
* *Cambden* Ib. 1602. *Watson.* Ib. p. 279.
† *Dolman* Ib. p. 109.

the

* *the Catholicks make little account of his Title by nearneſs of Succeſſion.* * Ib. p 110.

We have reaſon to believe he did not wrong them, becauſe when an anſwer was written to his Book, † the Arch-Prieſt *Blackwel* would not ſuffer it to be publiſhed. And your next Head-Officer, the Provincial of the Jeſuites, * declared he would have nothing to do with King *James* his Title; and 'twas the common voice of the men of his Order that * *if King James would turn Catholick, they would follow him; but if not, they would all die againſt him.*

† *Watſon.* Ib. p. 107. * *Tortura Torti.* p. 197.

* *Watſon.* Ib. p. 150.

Which pious Reſolutions were ſeconded with agreeable Actions. For they endeavoured, as far as Catholicks are obliged by their Principles, *viz.* as far as they durſt and were able; at firſt, to hinder him from coming in, and afterwards to throw him out again, or to deſtroy him in the place, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you in the anſwer to the next Paragraph.

The mean while out of this preſent diſcourſe, in which you cannot deny any thing that is material to our purpoſe; It appears that this *hard Queſtion of Right to the Crown*, was not between the Parties themſelves in one or t'other of whom you confeſs the *Right* was. It appears that your Infallible Judge of Controverſies very eaſily and impartially reſolv'd it, by denying both ſides of the *Queſtion*, and aſſuming the whole *right* to himſelf. It appears that your Catholicks, who are ſaid to have ſided with one againſt the other, did in truth ſide with the Pope againſt them both. And laſtly it appears that their *Miſdemeanors* were inexcuſable Treaſons, if any Treaſon can be inexcuſable that is befriended with ſuch an Apologiſt.

['*Twas for the Royal Houſe of* Scotland *that they ſuffered in thoſe days; and 'tis for the ſame Illuſtrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occaſion.*]

Sir, we have found you notoriouſly Falſe in that which you Affirm: Pray God you prove True in that which you Promiſe.

(Nor

[Nor can the consequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a Henry VIII. (whom Sir W. Raleigh, and my Lord Cherbury, two famous Protestants, have so homely Characteriz'd) should after twenty years cohabitation turn away his Wife, and this out of scruple of Conscience as he said) when as History declares that he never spared Woman in his Lust, nor Man in his Fury.

This *Character* would better agree with many a Head of a Church whom we could name you, than with *Henry* VIII. of whom better * Historians speak better things. But if he were such a Monster as you would make him, perhaps it was for want of a better Religion; for he was * perfectly of Yours, except only in the point of Supremacy. And you had no occasion for this flurt at him; unless that, having undertaken to put the best colours upon Treason, you might think you did something towards it in bespattering of Kings.

* *V. Thu. Hist.* l. 1.

* *Philopater*, p. 308. and 323. & *v. Thu.* Ib.

We have a touch of the same Art in the next Paragraph. Where having undertaken to excuse the Gun-powder-Treason, you call it first a *Misdemeanor*, then the *Fifth of November*, and then a *Conjuration*; soft words all of them: but you deal wicked hardly with the *great Minister* of State, whom you make to have been the Author of it; as if the Traitors had not conspired against the State, but the State against them.

But before we come to answer this, It will be needful to set down the story, as it appears out of the Examinations and Confessions of the Traitors themselves.

The rise of this Treason, was from the before-mentioned *Breves* of Pope *Clement* VIII. in which he required all his Catholicks, that after the *death of that wretched Woman Queen* Elizabeth, they should admit none but a Catholick to reign over them. These *Breves* were by *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuites, communicated to *Catesby* and others: who in Obedience thought best to begin their Practices in her life time. So they sent Father *Tesmund* and *Winter* into *Spain* to crave the assistance of that Crown. The *Spaniard* sent them back with the promise of an Army. But soon after Queen *Elizabeth* died, and no Army came. Therefore

again

again they ſent *Chriſtopher Wright* into *Spain* to haſten it; and *Stanley* out of *Flanders* ſent *Fawks* thither upon the ſame errand; who finding the Councils of *Spain* at this time wholly enclined to peace, returned quickly back, and brought nothing but deſpair along with them.

Yet the Breves had ſo wrought upon *Catesby*, that he could not find in his heart to give over; but ſtill caſting about for ways, he hit upon this of the Powder-Treaſon, which as being much out of the common Rode, he thought the moſt ſecure for his purpoſe. He communicated this to *Winter*, who approved it, and fetcht *Fawks* out of *Flanders* to aſſiſt in it. Not long after *Piercy* being in their company, and offering himſelf to any *ſervice for the Catholick Cauſe, though it were even the Kings Death: Catesby* told him, that that was too poor an Adventure for him: but, ſaith he, if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a *Plot of greater advantage; and ſuch a one as can never be diſcovered.* Thus having duly prepar'd him, he took him into the Conſpiracy. And the like he did with ſo many more as made up their Number thirteen of the Laity.

But where were the *Jeſuites* all the while? not idle, you may be ſure. The Provincial *Garnet* was privy to it from the beginning, ſo were divers * more of the Society. Inſomuch that when *Watſon* endeavour'd to have drawn them into his Plot (for the ſetting up of the Lady *Arbella*'s Title, in oppoſition to King *James* his) they declin'd it, * ſaying, *They had another of their own then afoot, and that they would not mingle deſigns with him for fear of hindering one another.*

But *Watſon* miſcarried with his Plot, and the Jeſuites went on with theirs. They abſolv'd the Conſpirators of the Guilt, and extenuated the Danger of their deſign; they perſwaded them how highly Beneficial it would be in the Conſequences of it; they gave them their Oath, by the Holy Trinity, and the Sacrament which they did then receive, that none of them ſhould reveal it to any other, or withdraw himſelf from it without common conſent: and for the pittiful ſcruple of deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, *Garnet* anſwered, they might lawfully do it in order to

* *Baldwin, Hammond, Teſmund,* and *Gerard,* were named by the Conſpirators, as privy with them.

* *V. VVatſons* Confeſſion.

to a greater good. Yet it seems there was a spark of Humanity in some of them, which the Divinity of this Casuist had not quite extinguish't; as appear'd, either by the absenting of some Lords that were afterward fined for it in the Star-Chamber, or certainly by that Letter of warning to my Lord *Monteagle*, which was the happy occasion of the Discovery of the whole Treason.

In *Warwick-shire*, where the Princess *Elizabeth* then was, they had appointed a meeting, under the pretence of a Hunting-Match, to seize upon her, the same day in which the King and his Male Issue were to have been destroyed. There met about fourscore of them, which was a number sufficient for that business. But the news of the Discovery coming among them, they were so dismayed at it, that they desisted from their enterprize, and fled into *Stafford-shire*; where, the Countrey being raised against them, they were some of them kill'd, and the rest taken; and those which were left alive of the prime Conspirators were sent up to *London*, and there Executed.

This is the plain story, now let us see how you colour it.

[*Now for the Fifth of* November; *with hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest.*]

What is it that you *abominate and detest?* That day which is the Festival of our Deliverance? We can believe you without *your hands lifted up to Heaven.* Or mean you the Treason which was to have been acted upon that day? why then do you not speak out and call it so? For if you cannot afford to call it Treason, it is not the *lifting up of your hands* that can make us believe you do heartily *abominate and detest it.*

[*And from the bottom of our hearts say, that may they fall into irrecoverable Perdition, who propagate that Faith by the Blood of Kings, which is to be planted in truth and meekness only.*]

It was a good caution of a Philosopher to the Son of a com-

common Woman, that he ſhould not throw ſtones among a multitude, for fear of hitting his Father. You might have had that caution when you threw out this curſe; for your Father the Pope ſtands faireſt for it of all men that we know in the World.

[*But let it not diſpleaſe you, Men, Brethren, and Fathers, if we aſk whether* Ulyſſes *be no better known? or who hath forgot the Plots* Cromwel *framed in his Cloſet; not only to deſtroy many faithful Cavaliers, but alſo to put a luſtre upon his Intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledg. Even ſo did the then great Miniſter, who drew ſome few Deſperadoes into this Conjuration, and then diſcovered it by a Miracle.*]

Having ſpit and wip't your mouth, now you make your ſpeech. And it begins with a mixture of *Apoſtle* and *Poet*; to ſhew what we are to expect from you; namely, with much Gravity, much Fiction: and ſo far you do not go about to deceive us.

The ſcope of your ſpeech is to make the world believe that your Catholicks were drawn into this Plot by Secretary *Cecil*. You are ſo wiſe, that you do not offer to prove this; but you would ſteal it into us by an example, that we are concerned in. As *Cromwel* trepann'd *many faithful Cavaliers*, even ſo *Cecil* drew in *ſome few Deſperadoes*. Compariſons (they ſay) are odious: But to the buſineſs.

Firſt, admitting your Fiction, as if it were true, that *Cecil* did draw in thoſe wretches into this Treaſon. Was it ever the leſs Treaſon becauſe he *drew* them into it? For, according to your own ſuppoſition, they did not know that they were drawn in by him. But they verily thought that they had followed their own Guides; and they zealouſly did according to their own Principles. They did, what they would have done, if there had been no *Cecil* in the world; provided there had been a Devil in his room, to have put it into their heads. For your excuſe only implies, that they had not the Wit to invent it: But their progreſs in it ſhews, that they wanted not the Malice to have executed it. So that according to your own illuſtration: As thoſe faithful Ca-

valiers whom *Cromwel* drew in, had their Loyalty abuſed, & were nevertheleſs Faithful ſtill; ſo thoſe Powder-Traitors whom you ſay *Cecil* drew in, had their Diſloyalty outwitted, and were nevertheleſs Traitors ſtill. For as well in the one caſe as in the other, this very thing that they could be drawn in, is a clear demonſtration that they were before-hand ſufficiently Diſpoſed for it.

Secondly, When you have conſidered the abſurdity of your excuſe for your friends, you may do well to think of an excuſe for your Self. For that which you affirm of *Cecil*'s having drawn them into this Plot, is a very groundleſs and impudent Fiction, and you are properly the Author of it. For though others perhaps may have ſpoken this in raillery; yet you are the firſt, that we know of, that has aſſerted it in Print.

Pray Sir, whence had you this tale? By what Tradition did you receive it? Or had you ſome new Revelation of the Cauſes threeſcore years after the Fact? For 'tis plain, that King *James** knew nothing of it. *Bellarmin* and his fellow *Apologiſts* in that Age never pretended it. The parties themſelves, neither at their Tryal, nor at their Execution, gave any intimation of it. Can you tell us which of the Conſpirators were *Cecil*'s Inſtruments to draw in the reſt? Or can you think he was ſo great an Artiſt, that he could perſwade his Setters to be hang'd, that his Art might not be ſuſpected? For 'tis well known that he ſav'd not any of thoſe wretches from ſuffering. And they which did ſuffer, charged none other, but themſelves, in their Confeſſions. Particularly, Father *Garnet* ſaid, before Doctor *Overal*, and divers others, that *he would give all the World, if it were his, to clear his Conſcience, or his Name* from that Treaſon,

*V. His ſpeech in Parliament 1605. and his Relation, &c. *Warmington*, p. 7. ſaith, *None were therein culpable, but only Jeſuites and Catholicks.*

Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Front. Ducæum.

Theſe are ſtrong preſumptions of the Negative; but you ought to have proved your Affirmative, or at leaſt to have offered ſomething toward it. For if barely to ſay this, be enough, then here is an excuſe indifferently calculated for all Treaſons in the world that miſcarry: (and if they proſper, who dares call them Treaſons?) Here is a never failing Topick for any one that would write an *Apology* in behalf of

any

any Villany whatſoever. For if the Traitors be diſcover'd by any kind of accident, this will alwaies remain to be ſaid for them, that *the then great Miniſter drew them in.*

But why did you not ſay this for thoſe Conſpiracies in Queen *Elizabeths* daies? You might have ſaid it perhaps with leſs improbability. But then had you a higher Game to fly at, namely the *Queens* Title to her Crown; and if you durſt have made ſo bold with King *James* his, you would not have ſtoopt at ſo low a Quarry as a *Miniſter* of State.

But by the way we cannot but acknowledge, that you Jeſuites are a ſort of moſt obliging Gentlemen. If men will believe what you Say, nothing that you do can fall amiſs. In your attempts againſt the life of Queen *Elizabeth*, you obliged his Majeſty that now is, as being Martyrs for the *Royal Houſe of Scotland.* And in your Plot to blow up that Royal Houſe, you were a kind of Fellow-ſufferers with *the Faithful Cavaliers*; for as they us'd to be trapp'd by *Cromwel*, even ſo you were drawn in by Secretary *Cecil.*

It is worth obſerving in this Paragraph, how you diminiſh that helliſh Plot, by calling them that were engag'd in it, a *few Deſperadoes.*

The *Fewneſs* of them will be conſidered in your next.

But in what ſenſe do you call them *Deſperadoes?* Were they ſuch in reſpect of their Fortunes? That is ſo well known to be falſe, that it needs no Anſwer. Were they ſuch in reſpect of their Diſcontents? that ſeems to be your Meaning. But there was little Reaſon for any. For at the time of this Conſpiracy, there was none of your Prieſts in Priſon, there was no Mult taken of any Lay-man, *Nor was there a man of them, as* King *James* ſaid, *that could alledge any pretended cauſe of grief.* And yet they were continually Reſtleſs, as we have ſhewn you in their ſtory. Was it becauſe they had not all the Liberty they would have had? This is ſo far from excuſing them, that it rather gives us occaſion of ſuſpecting You.

* King *James* Speech in Parliament, 1605.

'Tis no wonder that you, who cannot afford to call this Conſpiracy a Treaſon, are not willing to allow the *Diſcovery* of it a *Miracle.* Yet you might have forborn Scof-

fing at it, in respect to king * *James*, who was pleas'd to Name it so. Especially when his adversary *Bellarmin** acknowledges that it was *not without a Miracle of Divine Providence*. And sure our King makes a better use of this word *Miracle* in the thankful acknowledgement of Gods great Mercy in his deliverance; than your Pope * *Sixtus* V. did in his insolent Oration upon the King of *France*'s Murder; by which we may guess what Some body would have called this Plot, if it had Sped.

* Ib.

* *Tortus*, p. 85. *Edit. Colon.*

* *Sixti Orat.*

[*This will easily appear, viz. how little the Catholick Party understood the Design, seeing there was not a score of Guilty found, though all imaginable industry was used by the Commons, Lords, and Privy Council too.*]

The *design* it self was *understood* but by *Few*, because it was neither safe nor needful to impart it to many. But the *Papists* generally knew that there was a Design in hand; and though they did not know the horrid nature of it, yet many of them pray'd for the success of it: and if the Plot had taken effect, and the Hunting-Match had gone on, we should then have been better able to have judg'd how your *Catholick Party* stood affected toward it. Sure enough though there were but a * Score in the Treason, yet there appear'd fourscore in the Rebellion: and it cannot be imagin'd, that so small a Number could Expect, without any other Assistance, to have made any great Advantage by surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*. But when the Treason had miscarried, as hateful as it was, (for who does not hate Treason when it is unsuccessful?) yet many of you had a high Veneration for some of those Wretches that were deeply engaged in it. What a Coil here was about the Miracle of Father *Garnet*'s straw? And perhaps you have seen his Picture, and *Gerard*'s too among the * Martyrs of your Society. Nay his Holiness himself shew'd his good Will to them, when after all this, he made *Tesmund* Penitentiary at S. *Peters* in *Rome*.

* 5 Jesuites 13. Lay-men, besides *Owen* and *Stanley*.

* At *La Fleche*, and elsewhere.

(*But*

[*But ſuppoſe, my Lords and Gentlemen, (which never can be granted) that all the Papiſts of that Age were conſenting, will you be ſo ſevere then to ſtill puniſh the Children for the Fathers Faults?*]

[*Nay ſuch Children that ſo unanimouſly joyned with you in that glorious Quarrel, when you and we underwent ſuch ſufferings, that needs we muſt have all ſunk, had not our mutual love aſſiſted.*]

You *ſuppoſe* that which is Falſe, to avoid that which is True. For who ever ſaid, that *All the Papiſts of that Age were Conſenting* to the Gun-Powder-Treaſon? Or who can deny that ſome Papiſts in this Age retain the Principles of them that were conſenting to it? Who, although they are not to be *Puniſht* for what their Predeceſſors did; yet they ought to be ſo reſtrained, that they may not do like their Predeceſſors.

And though, by that long word *Unanimouſly*, you endeavour to ſhuffle in the men of theſe Principles, amongſt them that ſerved his Majeſty in *that Glorious Quarrel*: Yet we think it no hard matter to diſtinguiſh them. For thoſe among you which did the King Service, are not ſo many but that they may be Numbred. And as for the reſt of you, which Only *ſuffer'd* with us, we thank you for your *Love*, but not for your *Aſſiſtance*. For we could not well have *ſunk* lower than we did. But ſome of you floted the while, like Cork; and others of you ſwum upon the Bladders of Diſpenſations. So that as we received no Help from you in your Swimming; ſo we can apprehend no Aſſurance of you by your *Sufferings*.

[*What have we done that we ſhould now deſerve your Anger? has the indiſcretion of ſome few incenſed you; 'tis true, that is the thing objected.*]

Sir, our *Anger* is only a Neceſſary Care, that what you now call your *Indiſcretions*, may not grow to be ſuch as you lately call'd your *Miſdemeanors*.

[*Do not you know an Enemy may eaſily miſtake a Maſs-Bell for that which calls to Dinner?*]

We

We *know* he *may* upon a Faſt-day; For then you uſe to ring your Veſper-*Bell* before *Dinner*. And how can a ſimple Heretick tell, whether it *calls* you, to Pray, or to eat Fiſh? But we do not know that ever any of you was brought in trouble about this Queſtion.

[*Or a Sequeſtrator be glad to be affronted being Conſtable? when 'twas the hatred to his Perſon, and not preſent Office, which perchance egg'd a raſh man to folly.*]

Poſſibly he May be *glad* of it. For it was your Jeſuitical diſtinction between *Perſon* and *Office*, that firſt holp him to be a *Sequeſtrator*. And now he ſees that Diſtinction come in play, he may hope, within a while, to have his Place again.

(*We dare with ſubmiſſion ſay, Let a publick invitation be put up againſt any Party whatſoever; nay, againſt the Reverend Biſhops themſelves and ſome malicious Informer or other will alledge that, which may be far better to conceal.*)

(*Yet all mankinde by a* Manifeſto *on the houſe door are incouraged to accuſe us; nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.*)

What an Ambuſh you have laid here for the *Biſhops*! to have them thought Popiſh, becauſe you *Reverence* them, and Obnoxious, in ſuch matters, as (you ſay) it *may be far better to conceal*. But as in the one, your kindneſs to them is ſufficiently underſtood. So they are able to defie your *Malice* in the other. 'Tis for a Biſhop of *Donna Olympia's* * to need *concealment*. Our Biſhops in *England* are of another make, than to hold their Credit at any one's Courteſie.

* V. Her Life. p. 61. and p. 156, 157.

For the *Manifeſto* that troubled you, what could the Parliament do leſs, when the Complaints of you were great in all parts of the Nation, than to *Invite* men to bring their Grievances to the proper place of Redreſs? But then ſay you, men were not *upon Oath*, for what they ſaid againſt you. What a *Hardſhip* was this, that the *Houſe of Commons* would

would not do that for your ſakes, which no *Houſe of Commons* ever did upon any occaſion?

[*It cannot be imagined where there is ſo many men of heat and youth, (overjoyned with the happy reſtauration of their Prince) and remembring the inſolencies of their Grandees, that they ſhould all at all times prudently carry themſelves; for this would be to be more than men. And truly we eſteem it as a particular bleſſing, that God hath not ſuffered many through vanity or frailty to fall into greater faults, than are yet as we underſtand laid to our charge.*]

The King will never be out of your debt, if a Jeſuite may but keep the reckoning. Your old Treaſons you put upon the account of his Family and Friends, and your late Inſolencies upon the ſcore of his moſt *Happy reſtauration*. But would you ſeriouſly perſwade us, that, at ſix years diſtance, *ſo many men of heat and youth* were ſtill tranſported with the *Joy* of that *Bleſſing*? That there were ſome freſher cauſes of this Jollity, has been vehemently ſuſpected by many, who conſidered the great Unſeaſonableneſs of it, in ſo Calamitous a time, while the Fire was ranging in our *Metropolis*, and a *French* Army lay hovering upon our Coaſts.

(*Can we chuſe but be diſmay'd* (*when all things fail*) *that extravagant Crimes are fathered upon us.*

It is we muſt be the Authors (*ſome ſay*) *of firing the City, even we that have loſt ſo vaſtly by it; yet in this, our ingenuity is great, ſince we think it no Plot, though our Enemy an* Hugonot *Proteſtant acknowledged the Fact, and was juſtly Executed for his vain Confeſſion. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of* England *buy Knives for the buſineſs of his Trade; This alſo is a Papiſt Contrivance to deſtroy the well affected.*)

There can be nothing charged on you, more *extravagant* than thoſe things were, which your Predeceſſors committed, and which here, You have taken upon you to juſtifie or excuſe. The Particulars of your Charge, whatſoever they are, we leave to the Conſideration of the Parliament: where we heartily wiſh there may appear more Reaſon on your ſide, than there is to be found in this *Apology*. For as to the *Firing of the City*, if according to your words (which we

we have not hitherto found to be Gospel) *you have left so vastly by it*; yet that will not Acquit you from the suspicion of the Fact. in the judgment of any one that considers the Determination of your late *Provincial*, * *viz.* that it is lawful to destroy the Innocent with the Guilty in order to a greater good. And it seems this *vast loss* goes not near your Heart; one would think so by your pleasantness in the very next passage. For there you call *Hubert your Enemy*, and a *Hugonot* Protestant: which *Hubert*, after Father *Harvey* had had him at Confession, did indeed affirm himself to be a *Protestant*; but then being askt whether he meant a *Hugonot* (which it seems was beyond his Instruction to say) he earnestly denied that, as he very well might, for he then also declar'd that he believed Confession to a Ptiest was necessary to his salvation: and being admonish'd to call upon God, he repeated an *Ave-Mary*, which he said was his usual Prayer. So that it evidently appears, he was neither *Hugonot*, nor *Protestant*, nor Your *Enemy* upon any account of Religion. And yet you, being about to avouch this knot of Falshoods, are pleased to usher them in with this Preface, (either in Praise of your Brother *Harveys* Pious Fraud, or of your own Proper Vertue) *Truly in this, our ingenuity is great.*

* *Garnet* in the Case of the Powder-plot.

[*We must a little complain finding it by experience, that by reason you discountenance us, the People rage: and again, because they rage, we are the more forsaken by you.*]

[*Assured we are, that our conversation is affable, and our Houses so many Hospitable receipts to our Neighbours. Our acquaintance therefore we fear at no time; but it is the stranger we dread: that (taking all on hear-say) zealously wounds, and then examines the business when it is too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that knows no more of us than he himself.*]

[*'Tis to you we must make our Applications, beseeching you (as Subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us in the execution, and weigh the Dilemma, which doubtless he is in, either to deny so good a Parliament their requests, or else run counter to his Royal Inclinations, when he punishes the weak and harmless.*]

He that *complains* without a cause, must be heard without redress.

We

We only desire to be Safe from those dangers, to which your Principles would expose us, and against which neither *Affableness* nor *Hospitality* will secure us. The Protestants of *Ireland* were never so treated and caressed by their Popish Neighbors, as they were the very year before they cut their throats.

The best Means of our security, is, that which his Majesty has been pleased to require, *viz.* The discreet Execution of his Laws. By which (if others shall please to distinguish themselves from the rest by renouncing their disloyal Principles) only the disloyal and seditious will be kept *weak*, that they may be *harmless*.

[*Why may we not, noble Country-men, hope for favour from you, as well as French Protestants finde from theirs? a greater duty then ours none could express, we are sure: or why should the United Provinces, and other magistrates (that are harsh both in mind and manners) refrain from violence against our Religion, and your tender breasts seem not to harbour the least compassion or pity?*]

[*These barbarous People Sequester none for their Faith, but for Transgression against the State. Nor is the whole Party involved in the Crime of a few, but every man suffers for his own and proper fault. Do you then the like, and he that offends, let him dye without Mercy:*]

[*And think alwayes, I beseech you, of* Cromwels *Injustice: who for the Actions of some against his pretended Laws, drew thousands into decimation, even ignorant of the thing, after they had vastly paid for their security and quiet.*]

We have answer'd your Instances, of the *French Protestants*, and the *Dutch Papists*; and your unjust upbraiding us with the *greatness of your Duty*, and with our *want of compassion and pity*. And yet, as if all these were Unanswerable, you come over with them again and again.

These barbarous people, you say, *sequester none for their Faith*; but pray what did you, when you *govern'd the Civiliz'd World*? you hang'd and burn'd men, for no other cause but their Faith; and this you did with abundance of Civility; so it seems we may be worse than *Barbarous*, and yet much better than you.

But that were little for our credit, unleſs we had this to ſay more, that not the worſt of you *ſuffers* any otherwiſe than by known Laws, or any more than is of pure Neceſſity. For, we hold it Neceſſary to maintain the Authority of the King, and the Peace of the Nation. If you call any thing *Religion*, that is contrary to theſe; muſt we therefore alter our Laws? or ought you to mend your Religion?

You put the Effigies of *Cromwel* upon any thing that you would render odious; as your Inquiſition bedreſſes one with Pictures of Devils, whom they are about to burn for his Religion. For ſuch Diſguizes are apt to work much upon the weak judgements of the multitude. But he muſt be very weak indeed that cannot perceive the wide Difference, between the Edicts of *Cromwel*, that were deſign'd to Ruine men for their Loyalty, and thoſe Laws that our Princes have made to Reſtrain them from Treaſon and Rebellion.

[*We have no other ſtudy, but the glory of our* Sovereign, *and juſt liberty of the Subjects.*]

Sir, if we may judge by your Works, there is *nothing* leſs *ſtudied* in your Colledge.

[*Nor was it a mean Argument of our Duty, when every Catholick Lord gave his voice for the Reſtauration of Biſhops; by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that* 26 *Votes* (*ſubſiſting wholly by the Crown*) *were added to the defence of Kingſhip, and conſequently a check to all Anarchy and Confuſion.*]

This is no *Argument* of Your *Duty*; for, ſure, You are no *Lord*. Nor is it likely that theſe Lords follow'd Your direction in the doing of this Duty.

[*'Tis morally impoſſible but that we who approve of Monarchy in the Church, muſt ever be fond of it in the State alſo.*]

If you mean this of Papiſts in General, that which you call *morally impoſſible*, is Experimentally True. For in *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and the Popiſh Cantons of *Switzerland*, where they

they very well *approve of Monarchy in the Church*; yet they are not *fond of it in the State also.* But if you mean this of the Jesuitical Party, then it may be true in this sense, that you would have the Pope to be sole Monarch both in Spirituals and Temporals.

[*Yet this is a misfortune, we now plainly feel, that the longer the late Transgressors live, the more forgotten are their Crimes, whiles distance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own Allegiance in eternal oblivion and forgetfulness.*]

We can now allow you to complain, and commend your selves without Measure; having prov'd already, that you do it without cause.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, consider we beseech you the sad condition of the* Irish *Soldiers now in* England: *the worst of which Nation could be but intentionally so wicked, as the acted villany of many English, whom you admired Clemency pardoned. Remember how they left the Spanish Service when they heard their King was in* France; *and how they forsook the Employment of that unnatural Prince, after he had committed the never to be forgotten Act of banishing his distressed Kinsman out of his Dominions. These poor men left all again to bring their Monarch to his home: and shall they then be forgotten by you? or shall my Lord* Douglas *and his brave Scots be left to their shifts, who scorned to receive wages of those who have declared War against* England.

To swell up the Bill of the Merits of your Party, you take in the Services of the *Irish* and *Scottish Soldiers*, as if they were a part of the *English Catholicks*, whom you profess to plead for in the Title of your *Apology*. And that you may seem to have done this, in kindness to Them, and not to your Selves; you exhort us to *Consider* them, in such terms, as if You were the first that had ever thought of them. God forbid but they should be consider'd as they deserve; and he is neither good Christian, nor good Subject, that would grudge to contribute his proportion toward it.

But you seem to have a farther drift in the mentioning of these Loyal *Irish*. For you immediately mingle them with the *worst of that Nation*; namely with those infamous Butchers, that in times of as great Peace and Liberty as ever

that Nation enjoyed, and in the Name of that gracious King under whom they enjoyed theſe, cut the throats of above an hundred thouſand of his Proteſtant Subjects of all Sexes and Ages. It was ſo black a Villany, that You, the Apologiſt of ſuch Actions, knew not how to mention in its proper place, *viz.* after the *French* Maſſacre, becauſe you had not wherewith to colour it. And yet being conſcious to your ſelf that this lay as a blot upon your Cauſe, you thought fit to place it among theſe brave Men; as if their Names would mend the hue of an Action that will make the Names of all that had to do in it, look black, and deteſtable to Mankind, throughout all Generations.

Lord *Orory's* Anſwer to *Walſh*, p. 20. ſaith, Within few months about two hundred thouſand.

Nor do you deal much better with our Royalliſts themſelves; of whom you do not ſtick to affirm, that in their *admired Clemency*, (and if this were true, who would not *admire* it?) they *pardon'd Many Engliſh*, whoſe *Acted Villanies* were ſo wicked, that the *worſt of the* Iriſh *Nation could be but Intentionally ſo wicked in their* Villanies.

[*How commonly is it ſaid that the Oath of Renouncing their Religion is intended for theſe, which will needs bring this loſs to the King and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience of great Integrity and Worth) or elſe, if ſome few you retain, they are ſuch whom neceſſity hath made to ſwear againſt Conſcience, and who therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater advantage ſhall be offered. By this Teſt then you can have none, but whom (with Caution) you ought to ſhun. And thus muſt you drive away thoſe who truly would ſerve you; for had they the leaſt thought of being falſe, they would gladly take the advantage of gain and pay to deceive you*]

You proceed, concerning the *Iriſh and Scottiſh Soldiers*, in theſe words; *How commonly is it ſaid, that the Oath of Renouncing their Religion is intended for them!* Pray Sir, can you tell who are *ſaid to intend this?* For if they are ſuch as have no Authority, it is frivilous. If they are ſuch as have Authority, it is falſe. And we do verily believe it was never ſaid, wiſht, or thought of, by any one that lov'd the King, and the peace of the Nation.

But what trick had this Jeſuite in his head when he fram'd this? One may gueſs at his deſign: But let it paſs. Perhaps

has he only imagined this, to heighten his Fancy, that he might think and write the more Tragically toward the end of his Oration.

[*We know your Wiſdom and Generoſity, and therefore cannot imagine ſuch a thing; nor do we doubt when you ſhew favour unto theſe, but you will uſe mercy to us, who are both your fellow Subjects, and your own fleſh and blood alſo; if you forſake us, we muſt ſay the world decays, and its final tranſmutation muſt needs follow quickly.*]

Here you un-imagine for the Souldiers, and imagine for your ſelf; and, as if you really thought your ſelf in danger, you beg for *mercy* of the Royaliſts, in ſuch words as your Predeceſſor * us'd to the Rebels. Only for the laſt ſtrain, we do not know that any one hit upon it before, nor do believe that any one will ever uſe it again.

* First Moderator, p. 76. *Your own Kindred and Allies, your own Countrymen, born to the ſame freedom with your ſelves; who have in Much leſs meaſure* (than the Scots) *offended in matter of Hoſtility, nay divers of them not at all.*

[*Little do you think the inſolencies we ſhall ſuffer by Committee men, &c. whom chance and lot, hath put into petty Power. Nor will it chuſe but grieve you to ſee them abuſed (whom formerly you loved) even by the common enemies of us both.*]

It ſeems *Committee-men* are intruſted with his Majeſties Authority; or that none muſt uſe it againſt Papiſts for fear of being accounted *Committee-men*.

It is time to have done, when we are come to the dregs of your Rhetorick.

[*When they puniſh, how will they triumph and ſay, take This (poor Romaniſts) for your love to Kingſhip; and again This, for your long doting on the Royal Party: all which you ſhall receive from us Commiſſioned by your deareſt Friends, and under this Cloak we will gladly vent our private ſpleen and malice.*

Sir, though you ſet your ſelf before to ſpeak Tragically, this does rather ſeem a piece of Drollery. But you Have your deſign either way. For no man can read it, but he muſt either Laugh, or Shake his head.

[*We know my Lords and Gentlemen, that from your hearts you do deplore our condition, yet permit us to tell you, your bravery muſt extend thus far, as not to ſit ſtill, with pity only, but each is to labour for the diſtreſſed as far as in*

in reallity his ability will reach: some must beseech our Gracious Sovereign for us, others again must undeceive the good, though deluded multitude; therefore all are to remember who are the prime raisers of the storm; and how through our sides they would wound both the King and you: for though their hatred to us our selves is great, yet the enmity out out of all measure increases, because we have been yours, and so shall continue even in the fiery day of tryal.

Protect us we beseech you then, upon all your former promises, or if that be not sufficient, for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen asleep: But if this be still too weak, we must conjure you by the sight of this bloody Catalogue, which contains the names of your murthered Friends and Relations, who in the heat of the Battle perchance saved many of your lives, even with the joyful loss of their own.

Sir, in answer to this Paragraph, you oblige us to speak plainer, what before we only intimated to you.

It was the policy of the Rebels in the beginning of the late War, to harrass the Papists in all parts of the Kingdom. One Reason of it was to make his Majesty Odious; for, the Papists being his Subjects, and having none but him to fly to, it was certain he would do what he could to Protect them, and this would make many Zealous People believe, that what the Rebels pretended was true, *viz.* that his Majesty was a Friend to Popery. Another Reason was to enrich themselves with their Spoils, and to invite the Needy Rabble with a Prospect of Booty; among which, if they found a string of Beads, or a Crucifix, it serv'd them upon both Accounts, both to fill their Pockets, and to justifie the Cause.

By this Means you were driven into his Majesties Garrisons; where, besides those that Voluntarily offer'd themselves to his Service, many of you were Necessitated to it for a subsistance, and many more of you did not serve him at all, but only shrowded your selves under his Protection. Whereas the Protestant Royallists had no such Necessity, for they might have been welcome to the Rebels, to do as They did; or they might have been Permitted to live quietly at their home. But they chose to do otherwise, and were hated the more for it by the Rebels, because they preferr'd their duty before those Considerations.

* Second Moderater, p. 43. *Most of them in the begining of the late War (seeing themselves unprotected by the Parliament, & exposed to the plunder of the then Soldiery) fled into the King's Garrisons, to save their own lives, without taking up Arms to offend others.*

From

From this account of the Motives that brought us together, it is easie to Judge how far we are in Debt to one another.

First, As for them which *lost their Estates* with us, We remember those things were alledged in their Defence, * which we would have been loth to have admitted in ours. But possibly it was not their Fault that these things were Alledg'd, nor was it to our Advantage that they were not Accepted. For the Rebels, having devour'd these Gentlemens Estates, fell to ours, with the more Colour, and never the less Appetite.

* Second Moderator, p. 43.

In your Catolague of those Papists which were Slain in the Service, you have Omitted some names which we are able to Reckon. But perhaps you did this in Design, that you might the more excusably Reckon some names that you ought to have Omitted. So you begin with my Lord of *Carnarvon*, the onely noble man in your Catalogue, who was indeed too negligent of his Religion, till he came to be in view of Death; But then, in his extremities, he Refus'd a Priest of yours, and Ordered the Chaplain * of his Regiment to pray with him. If you take this libert of stealing Martyrs, we have Reason to wonder, that you had not taken in one that would have adorn'd your Cause indeed, *viz.* his Majesty himself; since *Militiere* * was not asham'd to publish, that that Blessed and Glorious Prince died of your Religion. Him alone we might weigh against All that ever was good in your Church. But besides, we could reckon you a far greater number of Protestants, than you pretend to do of Papists, that *lost their lives* also *in the Day of Battle*. They lost them joyfully, in hopes to have sav'd his Majesty's Life; and 'twas an Accession to their Joy, *if perchance* they *sav'd any of yours*.

* Mr *Langford*

* In his Victory of Truth.

But did they ever intend their sufferings should go for nothing, or become Ciphers to yours in the day of Reckoning? or that their blood should be made use of to stop the Execution of those Laws for which they shed it? Did they think your *condition* was so *deplorable*, or their own was superfluously fenced and secured against you before the late troubles?

Pray

Pray Sir do not perſwade us to believe a thing ſo incredible, or to do at the rate as if we did believe it. Rather if you have ſuch an opinion of your own Faculty; Try what you can do with your own Party, and perſwade them to do what is fitteſt & beſt for Themſelves.

But becauſe the Genius of your Writing does not give us any ſuch Hopes of You: We ſhall rather make bold to ſay ſomething from ourſelves, by way of Advice, to as many of them as may happen to need it, and are capable to receive it.

We deſire them to content themſelves with that condition which they enjoy'd under his Majeſties Royal Predeceſſors: and neither to Diſparage thoſe dayes, by endeavouring to perſwade the world that they which ſuffered then for Treaſon died for Religion; Nor to Undervalue all the Liberties which they now Enjoy, if they may not be allow'd to Exceed the Meaſures of their Fathers. We wiſh they would not, for the paring of their nails, make all Chriſtendom ring with Cries of Perſecution. We wiſh them deeply to lay to Heart, the Honor, and Peace, and Welfare of their Nation. To abhor him, that could wiſh to ſee it in Troubles, in hope that at next Turn it would ſettle in Popery; or that could finde in his heart to bid a Foreigner welcome upon the terms of reſtoring Catholick Religion. We deſire them to keep their Religion to themſelves: and not lay about them, as ſome do, to make Proſelytes; of which they have had a plentiful harveſt in the late Confuſions; and if they ſhould think to go on at that rate, we have reaſon to fear, it would be a means to bring us into Confuſion again. We deſire them at leaſt not to abuſe the weakneſs of dying perſons: nor under pretence of carrying Alms to condemn'd Priſoners, to Convert ſome of them with Drink, and to Cheat others with hopes of Salvation upon eaſier tearms than ever God yet declar'd unto Men. We deſire them not to hinder the courſe of Juſtice, by interpoſing in the behalf of any Criminal, becauſe he is a Catholick. We deſire them to content themſelves, as their Fathers have done, with ſuch Prieſts as are known and protected * by the Civil Power; and that They would be pleas'd to demean themſelves as Prieſts ought to do: not diſguiſing themſelves like Hectors, or mingling with Gentlemen, to poyſon the Clubs and Coffee-Houſes with Phanatick Diſcourſes, or even with Atheiſm it ſelf, to deſtroy all Religion that they may have their will upon ours. We deſire them not to fill the World with their Pamphlets, *Parallels*, *Philanaxes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c which tend only to the fermenting of Mens Paſſions, not at all to the conviction of their Reaſon. If they pleaſe to come into the fair Field of Controverſie, we ſhall not decline them; and we think we are not in Debt to them upon that Account. But for Books of the other ſort which are apt only to inflame Parties, and make the People Jealous, and the Government Uneaſie, We wiſh they would ſpare their Own pains, and conſequently Ours. If they will not; let them bear their own blame, and let them Anſwer it to the world what Occaſion they had to give us this trouble of Anſwering them.

D. of *Medina* in 88. ſaid, his Sword knew no diſtinction between Catholick and Heretick,

* *V. Cambden's Eliz.* 1602.

FINIS.